754 of The Baron, who is one of the chiefs of Dominica, when they called
757 a boye for one of their sick girls [52] and made his devil appear, heard him speak in a very clear voice. He wanted to go in with a burning torch, but the women would not let him enter, and he did not want to insist, since he didn't yet know the language well enough.

The wife of this chief wanted to make one of her daughters a boye, with the help of another boye. But she could not, although the girl was willing and fasted as ordered. The old witch used for an excuse that the girl ate something that she had been forbidden to.

When the sick are cured, they give a feast for the boye, who sometimes also calls his devil to the celebration. The boye and this
[382 scoundrel, if he is there, blacken the sick person with dye from the
386] genipa tree to conclude the farce.

754 Some people do not call the boyes when they want to speak to the devil. Digging in the earth where they know someone is buried, they extract bones or hair of the dead person, and put them in a gourd which they plug with cotton. The devil speaks to them through these bones or hairs and claims to be the soul of the dead person.

With these bones they even cast various sorts of spells to revenge themselves against their enemies. Some take the left-overs from the meal of their enemy and put them next to these bones of the dead, which, as we have said, bewitches them. Others put in blood from a wound, as it happened with a Carib who came to find Father Raymond at Guadeloupe in order to be baptized. Since it was not possible, however, at the time to instruct him he was sent back. This man, wanting to avenge the death of his brother, entered a hut and stabbed the one he thought to be the murderer of his brother, but who was not. The parents of the wounded man were not able to obtain satisfaction, since the other had made off. They soaked cotton in the blood of their son and put it with some of these bones, and the assailant was overcome by a weakness that caused his death after two years.

776 Father Raymond and his interpreter, upon asking a boye named
● 821 Sali how his god looked, were told that he was so old that his staff was all shiny from having been carried so long. The boye said that his god was the cause of storms or violent tempests.

During an eclipse of the sun or moon, they say that [53] it is mapoya [maboya] who eats it (we shall relate in the last chapter

821 what they mean by maboya). That is why they say laf'koua noquam th
the eating of the moon; laf'koua vicou the eating of the sun. When
821 one or the other occurs, the women and young people dance all night,
535 and once they have started to dance they dare not quit before day.
They do not sing at all during this dance, but from time to time
utter doleful cries. During this gloomy silence, there is a girl or
woman who rattles little pebbles in a gourd and sings alone. The only
reason they have for this sad dance is that their food in the ground
would die without it.

In their dances, those just mentioned as well as others of re-
joicing, they do not hold each other with their hands, but each dances
alone. They put their feet together and jump, a little bent over,
putting one hand on their head, and the other on a buttock, and change
them constantly. This dance tires them so, that finally they are
completely exhausted.

785 Among their superstitions they have none more rigorous than their
fasts, and as they fast for several reasons and at different times, we
shall speak of each in its place.

805 Let us say here what would not be more appropriate elsewhere.
They calculate their year by the course of the Pleiades, which they
[821] call siric. They know several stars and know approximately when
802 they will have rain or wind. They count no higher than five; if they
have to say ten, they say: all my fingers. If twenty, they show
their feet and their hands, and they would not know how to say any
more.

CHAPTER IV

Their Ornaments

291 Our Caribs never wear clothes, neither men nor women, except
for a few chiefs when they come among us. They do not even cover
their shameful parts. This is contrary, nevertheless, to the custom
of the savages of the mainland, [54] where both men and women
have a sort of cotton band covering what nature is ashamed to show.

302 Men and women wear their hair long; at the front they cut it half-
way up the forehead and let it hang in the style of a little girl.

1/4 [i.e. An eclipse of the moon or sun.--Analyst]

After the god of a boye has drunk well he says "I am drunk, much hindered, and embarrassed." When a sacrifice is offered to him he calls his companions. They drink up the contents of all of the large pots, or at least pretend to do so. When they wish to leave, they practice a deception upon the hearing of the assembly. They tip their calabash drinking cups back into the large pots, and according to the sound it makes you might think that the pots are empty. However, the next morning these same pots are full which seems to the Caribs to be a great miracle. The old men and the most important among them gather to drink it. But the false gods have ordered it to be drunk upon an empty stomach, and also under the condition that they have not touched their wives during the night. You might judge it to be a monkey trick of the devil to imitate our sacrament. [148]

The Caribs believe that the moon is a man, and that once upon a time the moon saw a girl while she was asleep and he made her pregnant. This obliged the mother to give the girl a person to watch over her. The guardian surprised the moon one night and blackened him with genipap, in order to recognize the culprit. The Caribs say this is the reason for the spots on the moon which appear today. The child born from the girl was named Hiàli, and he later laid the first foundations of the Carib nation. The hummingbird was chosen to carry Hiàli to his father, and having faithfully performed its task, it obtained as a reward a beautiful crest for its head and its feathers were turned many colors. [293] The boyes have enough temerity to claim that they fly up to the moon in the heavens. One day a boye told me about his trip there. I recognized his foolishness when he said the moon looked like open rocks with trickling water everywhere. It is even sometimes said that their false gods raise them visibly and that the roof of the house opens itself to let them through it. The simple people do not understand that this is done by magic, and so they say with great admiration "he has wings." [234] The false gods address the Caribs as huéyou-ago in order to flatter them. These false gods do not call them "under the moon" but rather "over the sun," if I may express myself in this way. [283]

The Caribs have never heard about Pythagoras, but nevertheless they seem to be imbued with the idea of metempsychosis, for they have an expression which means "men do not become stones." [189] They do not know what it is to pray to God, although they believe it to be

757 arrow and now and then he suffered from the old wound. It was favorably treated by this remedy. When the Caribs have a swelling on the arm they incise it with an agouti tooth and make it bleed. Then they take a big papaya and when it is half cooked in the ashes they apply it hot against the swelling to draw off the inflammation. [141]

● 821 The Caribs do not understand what happens when there is an eclipse and they say that the maboya has eaten the moon. They dance all the night and dare not stop once they have started. [370] They do not know the line of the equinox, but know very well when the sun passes and repasses its zenith, that is to say, straight above their head. [210] They have no clocks nor any knowledge of hours, [805] and when we say "What time is it?" they say "Where is the sun?" If it is nine o'clock they say "The sun is quite high." If it is afternoon they say "The sun turns." At four o'clock they say "It is not yet too late." [263] The Caribs have terms for "full moon," "zenith of the moon," "no more moon," "end of the moon," and "eclipsed moon" [163, 370], and "first day of the moon." [374] They count years by the passing of the Pleiades for they say, "How many Pleiades does your son have?" which means how old is he. [163] When the Caribs see some comet they say that it is a sign or warning for them. [88] [They know some planets, cf. 338, 431, 473; and some constellations, cf. 65, 163, 165, 186, 192, 194, 265, 289, 406, 421.--Editor]

802 The Caribs count up to five and no further. To express ten they say "all the fingers." If there is less they bend their fingers accordingly. If they wish to count up to twenty they open their fingers and then indicate their toes and say "fingers and toes." If they wish to count even more they say as many as hairs on the head or grains of sand on the seashore. [78] They have the names for only four colors: yellow, red, white, and black. [239]

000 The Caribs willingly brought me letters coming from Guadeloupe because they believed that these letters talked with me, and that I had a god as do their boyes who advised me about everything in these letters. This is because they did not yet grasp the meaning of our writing. [300]

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721 women who retell everything that has been committed by those against whom they are going to wage war. They talk about harm done by the enemy to their ancestors, even reporting what they consider insults. To quarrel with a Carib is the same as to strike him, and to strike him is the same as to murder him. When you offend one Carib you offend the whole nation. But it doesn't work the other way around; for if you do good deeds for one of them the community does not feel itself benefited.

Adter these harangues the children dance, jump, and weep, demanding that these insults be revenged. All the young men become very excited and testify to their desire and courage. Finally the old men order war.

726 Besides waging war against the French in Guadeloupe and against the English in St. Lucia, Antigua, Montserrat, and other islands occupied against the will of the Caribs, they in addition make war against the Galibis who are savages of the continent and have an alliance with the Arawaks who also live on the continent. They have no difficulty taking these enemies by surprise, for they expose themselves in their canoes and pirogues to a sea journey of at least 200 leagues. They go from island to island and predict with sufficient certainty the bad weather and storms by studying the sky and stars, about which they have an excellent knowledge.

[815 ● 825

411 726 [778] Their weapons are bows of redwood and arrows made of a certain reed, the end of which, instead of being tipped with iron, consists of a very sharply pointed wood which is poisoned. They set fire to leaf-covered houses by attaching burning cotton to the end of their arrows. They do not always aim straight at their enemies but aim high and they are so skillful in this that most of their shots take effect. They can also shoot behind themselves when running away, and when they are hotly pursued at sea they stretch out full-length in their canoes in order to protect themselves, and shoot continuously without ceasing, even bending their bows with their feet. They also have spears of redwood, hard and heavy, which they hurl very well. For close fighting they use clubs which are big pieces of redwood, flat, a good inch thick, and almost half a foot wide at the end, with a length of three feet. They crush the head of their enemy as easily as we might do with a crowbar.

726 All their wars are waged by surprise early in the morning just before dawn and are accompanied by horrible screaming. To look more

778 idols were discovered in his possession and he was given over to the Inquisition. He would have inevitably experienced the rigors due a sorcerer had not the letters written to His Royal Highness by Mr. du Parquet clearly pointed out his innocence.

They also make certain small wooden statues said to be figures of maboyas, who reveal themselves to the Caribs by tormenting them. They wear them suspended around their neck. They wear them to halt, or at least diminish, the outrages of these cruel tyrants, rather than from a desire to serve the maboyas in a cult. Actually all the duties which are demanded by the ichéiris as well as by the maboyas through their boyes seem to be striking imitations of what happens when witches revel on their Sabbath, rather than acts of true religion. Father Raymond [Breton] states in his dictionary that they blame all of the evils which happen to them on the gods of the boyes, on the maboyas, and on the sorcerers. They fear the first more than they love them. They hate the second, and they very often take revenge on the third, oftentimes for very little reason.

535 When there is an eclipse of the moon they believe that a maboya
● [521] is eating it. This causes them to dance all night, the young and old alike, men and women, hopping with their feet together, one hand on their head and the other on their buttocks. They dance without singing but intermittently they howl certain dismal and appealing screams into the air. Once they have started to dance they are obliged to continue until dawn without daring to stop the dance no matter what the necessity may be. While dancing, a girl takes in her hand
[534] a calabash filled with small pebbles, and shaking it she tries to fit her coarse voice in with this uproar. This dance is different from those which they do when they get drunk, because the one reflects superstition and the other rejoicing.

785 It is also necessary to include among superstitions the fast which they observe for a variety of reasons. For example, they fast when a girl has reached the age of puberty, or a boy enters adolescence, or when children have lost their father or mother, or when a husband has lost his wife or a wife a husband, or when they have killed some of their enemies in war. However, the most solemn of their fasts is undertaken by newly married couples who have a boy for a first child. They sometimes spend five or six days without eating or drinking,

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

MYTHOLOGY

776 Upon questioning by the missionaries, the *Carib* stated their belief in
821 an unnamed superior power who lived in heaven and was endowed with all goodness. They regarded the earth as an indulgent mother, who furnished them with the things necessary for life.

The sun, moon, and other heavenly bodies were supposed to be human. The sun (noum) was considered a male; as ruler of the stars he prevented their shining during the daytime. He also warmed the stars, and they were believed to become ill during eclipses of the sun when the warming was not possible. The moon (houiou) was female; at first she shone during the daytime, but the coming of the sun filled her with shame and thereafter she appeared only at night. A star named Achinoin was said to be the cause of light rain and strong winds; another star, called Courou-mon, controlled the tides and caused the heavy waves which upset canoes. To a *Carib*, Savacou, who became a bird and later a star, was attributed control over the thunder and strong winds. Other stars, the rainbow, and a comet were given similar mythological backgrounds. The first waters in the world were said to be the perspiration and urine of these spirits; the waters became fresh only when the salinity was strained out of them by the ground. Later the stars caused a great flood because the *Carib* failed to worship them.

776 The *Carib* believed that their ancestors had emerged from the navel (or the nostrils and an incision in the thigh) of a man named Louquo, who had descended from heaven, bringing manioc roots and showing the people how to cultivate them and to prepare food. He also explained how to build houses, and according to one version he was the creator of the earth and of fish, which he made out of fragments of manioc bread. Three days after his death Louquo was said to have returned to the sky.

LORE AND LEARNING

[822 The *Carib* recognized only four colors—white, black, yellow, and red.
845 They counted up to 20 on their fingers and toes. As already described,
805 they had several methods of recording the time until a rendezvous. Their chiefs, shamans, and old men kept track of the time, counting the months by the moons, the seasons by the passing of the sun over the zenith, and the years by the rise and fall of the Pleiades. They also predicted the coming of winds and rains by the ascension of certain constellations which, as described above, were believed to control the weather.

773 The people stated that they originally came from the mainland to conquer the *Arawak* whom they found living in the Lesser Antilles. They were fond of recounting deeds of bravery in warfare but otherwise do not seem to have had any interest in their past history.

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
ST13 Callinago ST13

and large buttocks, and most of them in good plight. Their mouths are not over large, and their teeth are perfectly white and close. True it is, their complexion is of an olive color, naturally; their foreheads and noses are flat, not naturally, but by artifice; for their mothers crush them down at their birth, as also during the time they suckle them, imagining it a kind of beauty and perfection. . . . They have large and thick feet, because they go barefoot, and withal so hard that they defie woods and rocks. . . . They believed in evil spirits, and sought to propitiate them by presents of game, fruits, etc. They believe that they have as many souls as they feel beatings of the arteries in their bodies, besides the principal one, which is in their heart, and goes to heaven with its god, who carries it thither, to live with other gods; and they imagine they there live the same life as man lives here below. For they do not think the soul to be so far immaterial as to be invisible; but they affirm it to be *subtile*, and of thin substance, as a purified body; and they have but the same word to signify heart and soul. Other souls, not in the heart, reside in the forest and by the seashore; the former they called *Mabouyas*, the latter *Oumekou*. . . . They believe they go after death to live in certain fortunate islands, where they have Arrowak slaves to serve them, swim unwearied in placid streams, and eat of delicious fruits. . . . Of the thunder, God's voice, they are extremely afraid. They were prone to leave their houses (huts) after the death of an inmate. It is related, that a young Carib, having been converted to Christianity and taken to France, where he was shown many strange things, at which he showed no astonishment, returned to his tribe, threw off the clothes of civilization, and painted his body with *roucou*, becoming as wild a savage as before. . . . As to the division of labor, the men made the huts and kept them in repair, procured fish and game, also labored some in the fields; the women attended to the domestic duties, painted their husbands with roucou, and spun the cotton yarn, wove hammocks, etc,

224 If fish forms such a large part of the diet of the Caribs, it is because boating and fishing have always been a favorite occupation for
396 them. The canoes which they still use today are hollowed out from the trunks of large trees, particularly the gum-tree, the giant of the forest. The word canoe is, moreover, like the word hammock, a word of Carib origin, imported into Europe by the Spanish. These
502 boats are today used only for fishing, but formerly the Caribs—who
805 are excellent seamen and even have, according to certain writers,
821 some notion of the stars and know how to calculate time and the seasons—ventured quite far out to sea and went easily from one
481 island to another. They were, besides, admirable swimmers, righting their canoes when they capsized, while the women kept afloat in the water, carrying their children at their breasts.

411 Their weapons for hunting and war were formerly bows and arrows, with tips carved from fish bones or tortoise-shell and often poisoned with the juice of certain plants. Of an unequalled skill from childhood in handling bows and arrows, the Caribs quickly became as adept at using guns when they were given them. The club, called bouton or boutou was also a powerful weapon in their hands. It was often carved and the hatchings were painted in various colors. As for the war hatchets of polished stone, found in the excavations on Dominica /140/ and other islands, they seem rather to have belonged to the Tainos than to the *Carib (1). These hatchets bear a*

1. Beuchat (H.) Manuel d'archeologie americaine /Manual of American Archeology/. Paris, 1912.

great resemblance to those found in the Guianas and in northern Brazil; there is a fine collection of them in the Museum of Roseau.

532 The arts seem to have been very little developed among the
212 Caribs of the Antilles, but some crude drawings or petroglyphs found on the rocks in the islands which they inhabited have been attributed to them, particularly in the vicinity of the town of Trois Rivieres, in Guadeloupe, and in the island of St. John.

515 Of naturally cleanly habits the Caribs bathed every day in the sea or in the rivers before staining their bodies with roucou. They have retained the habit of taking frequent baths and this hygienic care has protected them from a great number of illnesses; yaws,
[104] which is very common among the blacks of the Antilles, is rare in the Carib population.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13
Garif SA12

C 114 782

tion. Breton makes it quite clear that the offerings were made to the spirits which he calls "*Dieu Ichéiri, Ioulouca, f. Chemüin,*" who were, in fact, spirit-helpers of both sexes, different ages, and having belonged in life to divers nations on earth. If he does not further identify the foregoing with "*esprit* acanaïnoue, acámbouée, *f.* épeyem ou oupoyem," nor speak of the body-part origin of these and of the mápoya and ouméoue, it is doubtless because he lacked conclusive evidence of such beliefs. Five of the above Carib terms are employed by the modern Black Carib: the hiüruha (Breton's ioulouca) require no other definition than that given above, and are "owned" and invoked by büüai (shamans), and presented with offerings of food and drink as in days gone by. The ábambue (Breton's acámbouée) are spirits of the dead, and are now distinct from úfü (Breton's oüpoyem), which is these people's name for a ghostly apparition emanating from a "bad person" who is dead. The máfia (máfuia, with the old people, and identical with Breton's mápoya) are malevolent bush-spirits, while the úmeu (Breton's ouméoue) are mischievous but not very dangerous spirits frequenting the shore and tidal waters of the sea. There is no orthodox belief as to the origin of the last two; but rites to propitiate the hiüruha, as well as the spirits of the family dead, are still performed, though Creoles and other non-Caribs (to the indignation and scorn of the Carib themselves) still refer to them as "devil dances" or (in Spanish) "baile mafia."

C 114 782

Such rites and feasts as Breton describes certainly took more than "several days" to prepare,[43] and Breton speaks of four months in this connection. From him it appears, moreover, that except for six or eight befeathered functionaries who danced in couples, side by side and holding one another by an arm placed around the other's neck, the people danced *singly*, and not "arm in arm" as Rouse says.

C 114 821

Rouse cites a certain number of Carib terms, and for these at least one would expect Breton's dictionary to have been consulted. Thus, he states: "The sun (noun) was considered a male. . . . The moon (houiou) was female. . . ."[44] Breton gives huéyou (and, in the women's speech, cachi) for the *sun;* nóeum (and, in the women's speech, cati) for the *moon;* treats both as masculine, and of the second says specifically: "So is nóeum [masculine], when it means the moon, because they believe that it is a man." Also la Borde says: "They make the moon masculine, and call it nóeum." The story of the incestuous brother, who became the moon, and of his son Hiali (to be found in the dictionary under "serérü"),

43 *Handbook*, p. 361.
44 *Handbook*, p. 364.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13

is still told by the modern Dominica Carib, who also remember the terms huéiu *ruu*, núnû *moon*, although they no longer speak the language; while the Black Carib employ uéiu *ruu*, háti *moon*, both masculine. Breton's qualification ("when it means the moon") refers to the fact that this same Carib word was also employed for the *earth*. Other forms cited by Rouse, such as boyez (shaman) and Savacou (species of heron and name of constellation), are more misleading than Breton's bóye and chauaócou, since the sounds z and v did not occur in the Island Carib of the seventeenth century and later, any more than in its modern offshoot. This may seem like carping, but it is unscholarly to cite Carib forms without consulting the only author among the early sources who spoke the language.[45]

Although no ball-courts have been reported from the Lesser Antilles, and while it is probably correct in one sense that "The *Carib* lacked the ball-game," as Steward says in his introduction,[46] yet it is evident that *some* ball-game was played by them in Breton's time, since he lists in his dictionary "Atalouacayem *jouer à la paume, la renvoyer*"; and, in the French-Carib section "*paume, balle, ou balon à jouer tibouale; aller jouer à la paume* caïman ouâbouyacoua."

One misses at the outset of the part devoted to the West Indies a good map, such as is given for practically every other region treated throughout the *Handbook*. The sketch-map on page 498 does not distinguish the islands of the Lesser Antilles by name, nor show their relative positions and sizes with even approximate accuracy: what I suppose to be Guadeloupe (600 square miles) appears to be about one third the size of what is certainly meant for Tobago (114 square miles).

The above criticisms are in no wise intended to be derogatory of the author of this part of the volume, or of his work; but are meant to point out the dangers of too great an eclecticism, or of too hasty an evaluation of such chroniclers as those who wrote in early colonial times. It is only natural that sources on the Carib have, as Rouse admits, relatively more ethnographic material than those, more numerous, on the Arawak Taino. Linguistically the former group had more, and racially and culturally *as* much, in common with the Arawak Igneri than/or as with the continental Carib tribes; yet one sometimes cannot avoid the feeling, in reading through this part of the volume, that Rouse—perhaps unconsciously—has selected and presented his data *ad majorem Arauke gloriam*.

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45 See my *Notes on Shot-Love*. Other confusing spellings copied by Rouse are achiouie, ichiori, ououiroe, as compared with Breton's achiouue, ichiôri, ououiroe. In other than Carib words, he gives both "guaipa fruit" and "jaupa tree," both presumably referring to *Genipa americana*; and "Lambye" for lambi (lobi), the French name for the conch.

46 *Handbook*, p. 26.